

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAIRO 12458

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINR, EG, PINT
SUBJ: CONVERSATION WITH HAYKAL

1. POLCOUNS HAD SHORT CONVERSATION WITH MOHAMMED HUSSAYNAN
HAYKAL AT SOCIAL FUNCTION JULY 25 IN PRESECNE OF SEVERAL
OTHER GUESTS.

2. HAYKAL SPOKE ABOUT HIS NEW BOOK ENTITLED "FOR EGYPT, NOT
NASSERISM" WHICH HAS JUST BEEN PUBLISHED. HAYKAL SAID
MAIN THEME OF BOOK WAS THAT THOSE WHO NOW DEBUNKING NASSER
AND HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS ARE DOING GREAT DISSERVICE TO EGYPTIAN
PEOPLE. ONE OF NASSER'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS HAD BEEN TO RESTORE
PRIDE AND CONFIDENCE OF EGYPTIANS AND ANTI-NASSER CAMPAIGN
IS CAUSING CONFUSION AND DEPAIR. BOOK WILL NOT BE SOLD
LEGALLY IN EGYPT, HAYKAL SAID, BUT HE KNEW OF ONE BOOKSELLER
WHO HAS MANAGED TO SMUGGLE IN 32,000 COPIES (ONLY IN EGYPT*).

3. HAYKAL REIDICULED SADAT'S OPEN DOOR ECONOMIC POLICY WHICH
HAD RESULTED IN ENRICHMENT OF FEW TRADERS AND IMPORTERS
AT EXPENSE OF SOCIETY AS A WHILE. HE FAVORED RETURN TO
NASSER-TYPE SOCIALISM WHICH WAS NOT REAL SOLIALISM SINCE AGRI-
CULTURAL SECTOR AND MOST COMMERCE REMAINED IN PRIVATE HANDS.
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INEFFICIENCY OF BLOATED BUREAUCRACY WAS HARDLY NASSER'S
DOING SINCE IT IS PART OF MUCH ODER AND LARGER EGYPTIAN PROBLEM.
HAYKAL DOWNPLAYED TORTURE AND OTHER POLICE STATE ABUSES DURING
NASSER'S TIME SAYING THAT ONLY 70 PEOPLE HAD GONE TO COURTS
TO SEEK REDRESS FOR TORTURE. FURTHERMORE, NASSER HIMSELF AS
EARLY AS 1966 HAD TAKEN ACTION TO CORRECT ABUSES PERPETRATED
BY SECURITY SERVICES AND HAD EVEN WORST OFFENDERS. IN ANY

CASE, HAYKAL SAID, HIE OWN CONSCIENCE WAS CLEAR SINCE HE HAD OPPOSED ALL SUCH ABUSES.

4. HAYKAL RIDICULED THE THREE EXISING POLITICAL PARTIES SAYING THAT LEFTISTS REPRESENTED A FEW BROKEN DOWN COMMUNISTS FROM THE 1950'S CENTER REPRESENTED MAINLY THE WAFD AND DESCENDENTS OF WAFD LEADERS; AND THE RIGHT REPRESENTED ONLY THEMSELVES. IN TERMS OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT, THE REAL THREE PARTIES THAT EXIST IN EGYPT ARE THE IKHWAN (ALREADY ORGANIZED TO SOME EXTENT), THE WAFD AND THE NASSERISTS (UNORGANIZED AND LEADERLESS).

5. HAYKAL SAW LITTLE PROSPECT FOR PEACE PROCESS. ONLY REASONS HE MENTIONED WERE THAT NO ARAB LEADER HAD EVEN BEGUN TO PREPARE HIS PEOPLE FOR LIVING IN REAL PEACE WITH ISREAL AND THAT PRINCIPAL ARAB REGIMES, PARTICULARLY SAUDI ARABIA, LACKED LEGITIMACY. ONLY CLAIM PRESENT SAUDI RULERS HAD WAS AS KEEPERS OF THE HOLY PLACES. HAYKAL WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF SOVIETS FOR CLUMSY POLICIES IN ME, AND AFIRCA AND THEIR COMPLETE FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THIRD WORLD NATIONALISM (THE SUBJECT OF HIS NEXT BOOK).

6. COMMENT: HAYKAL'S BLANKET CRITICISM NOW EXTENDS FAR BEYOND PRES SADAT AND HIS POLICIES TO OTHER ARAB REGIMES AND VIRTUALLY ANY OTHER TARGET IN SIGHT. HE IS AS USUAL SHORT ON CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS OF HOW EITHER SADAT OR OTHERS

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COULD DEAL WITH THEIR PROBLEMS MORE EFFECTIVELY. FACT THAT HE IS FREE TO CIRCULATE THROUGHOUT EGYPT AND THE ARAB WORLD, LIVE VERY COMFORTABLE LIFE AND PUBLISH IN THE NON-EGYPTIAN ARAB PRESS WITHOUT RETRIBUTION IS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO TREATMENT SUCH PERSONS RECEIVED UNDER NASSER. PRIVATELY, EVEN HAYKAL IS WILLING TO ADMIT THIS.

EILTS

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